

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 08095 01 OF 02 200633Z

21

ACTION EA-14

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2743

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BANGUI

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 8095

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EAID, ETRD, JA, XA

SUBJ: JAPAN'S AFRICA POLICY REVIEW

REF: TOKYO 4741 (NOTAL)

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 08095 01 OF 02 200633Z

SUMMARY: AS PART OF GENERAL RESTUDY OF JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH

LDC'S UNDER FONMIN OHIRA'A LEADERSHIP, FONOFF JUST CONCLUDED CONFERENCE OF JAPAN'S ENVOYS TO AFRICA TO REVIEW AFRO-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND TO BEGIN TO DEVISE POLICIES WHICH WILL SIMULTANEOUSLY PROMOTE INTERESTS OF AFRICANS AS WELL AS ENSURE CONTINUED JAPANESE ACCESS TO AFRICA'S MARKETS AND RESOURCES. JAPAN FEARS FOR SEVERAL REASONS, IT IS VULNERABLE TO RETALIATION BY BLACK AFRICANS. REASONS INCLUDE: JAPAN' GROWING TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA, SUSPICION THAT JAPAN IS INDIRECTLY IMPORTING LARGE VOLUME OF RHODESIAN CHROMIUM, AND JAPAN'S PAST POSITIONS ON PORTUGUESE QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. SEVERAL RECENT EVENTS HAVE HEIGHTENED JAPAN'S CONCERN ABOUT ITS RELATIONS WITH LDCS IN GENERAL AND RELATIONS WITH BLACK AFRICANS IN PARTICULAR. MID EAST OIL EMBARGO SHOCKED JAPAN INTO REALIZATION OF ITS VULNERABILITY TO CONCERTED LDC PACT THAT OAU AT RECENT CONFERENCE IN MOGADISCIO'S CITED JAPAN AS ONE OF CHIEF VIOLATORS OF UN RESOLUTION CONCERNING RHODESIA INCREASED APPREHENSION HERE THAT JAPAN MIGHT BE SUBJECTED TO CONCERTED RETALIATION BY BLACK AFRICANS PERHAPS AS OUTGROWTH OF FORTHCOMING UNGA. FINALLY PORTUGUESE COUP AND CHANCE OF RAPID TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL LANDSCAPE IN VAST AREAS OF RESOURCE RICH SOUTHERN AFRICA-MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, AND PERHAPS EVENTUALLY EVEN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA- CONVINCED FONOFF THAT REORIENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA AND LDCS WAS NOT ONLY MORALLY CORRECT BUT ESSENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REASONS.

2. FONOFF DIRECTOR AFRICA DIV KUROKOECHI DESCRIBED CONFERENCE TO EMBASSY AS UNPRECEDENTED PROBING OF JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH AFRICA, AN AREA TO WHICH JAPAN HAS DEVOTED SCANT POLICY ATTENTION IN PAST. UNDER OHIRA'S DIRECTION TO SEEK MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP AS OPPOSED TO NARROW PURSUIT OF OWN INTERESTS WHICH CHARACTERIZED JAPAN'S ATTITUDE IN PAST. THREE BASIC APPROACHES EMERGED DURING CONFERENCE: A) JAPAN SHOULD TRY TO GENUINELY ALIGN ITS PRACTICES WITH ITS COMMITMENTS IN UN AND SEEK WAYS TO EFFECTIVELY OBSERVE UN RESOLUTIONS, INCLUDING SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. B) JAPAN SHOULD INCREASE AID TO AND INVESTMENT IN BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRIES. C) JAPAN SHOULD CONSIDER MERITS OF SENDING HIGH LEVEL ENVOY
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PAGE 03 TOKYO 08095 01 OF 02 200633Z

(PROBABLY FONMIN HIMSELF) TO VISIT IMPORTANT AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

3. IN PRACTICAL TERMS, KUROKOECHI AND (IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION) OFFICIAL OF MINISTRY OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INDUSTRY (MITI) CLARIFIED CURRENT POLICY AND ALSO WHAT NEW LOOK AT AFRICA MIGHT MEAN FUTURE. ACCORDING TO KUROKOECHI, TO SIGNAL TO BLACK AFRICANS THAT JAPAN WAS CHANGING COURSE, GOJ ANNOUNCED AT OPENING OF CONFERENCE SUSPENSION OF ISSUANCE OF VISAS, EFFECTIVE

JUNE 15, TO SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALS FOR SPORTS, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE. (EXCEPTIONS POSSIBLE FOR BLACK AND COLORED SOUTH AFRICANS) BEYOND THAT, KUROKOCHI SAID HE FELT THAT IT WAS DESIRABLE TO REDUCE TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA, AND THIS WAS THEORETICALLY POSSIBLE IN THAT ALL RESOURCES WHICH JAPAN NOW IMPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA, WITH EXCEPTION OF CHROMIUM COULD BE PROCURED FROM ALTERNATE SOURCES OF SUPPLY, INCLUDING BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRIES. PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, ARE A) ALTERNATE SOURCES CANNOT BE DEVELOPED QUICKLY B) BLACK AFRICAN SOURCES NOT ECONOMICAL, AND C) MITI NOT IN POSITION TO TELL JAPANESE BUSINESSMEN TO SEVER TRADE RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, SAID KUROKOCHI,, EVEN MITI OFFICIALS NOW REALIZE THAT GOJ WILL HAVE TO CHANGE OLD POLICIES TOWARDS AND RHODESIA WAS ACTUALLY OCCURRING. (EMBASSY SKEPTICAL THIS ASSESSMENT.) CERTIFICATES OF ORIGIN FOR SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS ARE PROVIDED BY SOUTH AFRICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN PRETORIA, THOUGH, AND LIKELY LACK OF DILIGENCE BY CHAMBER IN PREPARING CERTIFICATES AWOULD ALLOW SOME TRADE TO TAKE PLACE.

4. KUROKOCHI SAID FONOFF WOUL LIKE TO INCREASE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO AND INVESTMENT IN BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND, TO AVOID FAMILIAR EPITHET QTE ECONOMIC ANIMAL UNQTE AID AND INVESTMENT SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO RESOURCES-PRODUCING COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, IT IS DIFFICULT TO INCREASE AID SUBSTANTIALLY IN FACE OF LIMITED JAPANESE AID RESOURCES AND EMPHASIS ON OTHER AREAS.

5. DURING SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, TAKASHI, HEAD, WEST EUROPE-AFRICA-MIDDLE EAST DIVISION, INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICY BUREAU, MITI, PROVIDED SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT ASSESSMENT OF LIKELY DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA POLICY. WHILE CONFIRMING THAT GOJ POLICY CONTINUES TO BAR JAPANESE PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA,

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 TOKYO 08095 01 OF 02 200633Z

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 08095 02 OF 02 200621Z

21

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 8095

TAKAHASHI SAID GOJ POLICY WAS TO MAINTAIN TRADE RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. HE DENIED PRESS REPRTS TO EFFECT GOJ CONSIDERING CESSATION EXIM CREDITS FOR TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA, AND SIMILARLY DENIED OTHER PRESS REPORTS TO EFFECT GOJ WOULD DISCOURAGE NISAAN MOTORS FRM INCREASING SHIPMENT OF AUTO PARTS FOR KNOCK -DOWN ASSEMBLY IN SOUTH AFRICA. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 08095 02 OF 02 200621Z

TAKASHI DECLINED TO MAKE ANY COMMENT ON ALLEGED TRADE WITH RHODESIA PENDING RECEIPT OF DOCUMENTS FROM RECENT OAU MEETING WHICH REPORTEDLY CRITICIZED JAPAN BY NAME AS MAIN SANCTIONS BUSTER.

6. TAKAHASHI NOTED THAT GOJ AID TO BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAD INCREASED IN 1974 AND PREDICTED THAT TREND WOULD CONTINUE. TAKASHI SAID MITI HOPED FOR INCREASED TRADE WITH, AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN, BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

MITI HAS ADOPTED A DEVELOP-AND-IMPORT FORMULA FOR PRIMARY PRODUCTS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL ECONOMIES, HE SAID, FURTHERMORE, MITI IS CONSIDERING SETTING UP A JOINT GOVERNMENT/PRIVATE COMMITTEE TO DEVELOP A CENSUS ON POLICIES TOWARDS BLACK AFRICA. AMONG THE POINTS WHICH THE NEW JAPANESE INVESTMENTS THERE, WITH THIRD COUNTRY INVESTORS POSSIBLY JOINING IN AS MINORITY INVESTORS, AND B) SIGNING OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENTS WITH HOST COUNTRIES PROVIDING QTE GUARANTEES UNQTE REGARDING NATIONALIZATION. AT PRESENT, MITI IS ADVISING JAPANESE FIRMS INVESTING IN AFRICA TO FOLLOW THE GUIDLINES FOR INVESTORS PUBLISHED BY JAPANESE BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS IN 1973. SUMMING UP, TAKAASHI SAID THAT AS JAPAN IS HIGHLY DEPENDENT ON IMPORTED RESOURCES, GOJ MUST TRY TO UNDERSTAND AFRICAN THINKING AND DEVELOP POLICIES WHICH WILL AVOID THE IMPOSITION BY BLACK AFRICA OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST JAPAN.

7. AFTER COMMENTING ON VALUE OF FREQUENT EXCHANGE WITH EMBASSY, KUROKOCHI ASKED FOR US ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES, PARTICULARLY REGARDING POSSIBILITY THAT WHITES IN MOZAMBIQUE MIGHT FOLLOW RHODESIAN EXAMPLE AND UNILATERALLY DECLARE INDEPENDENCE. HE ALSO ASKED FOR ANY INFO USG MIGHT HAVE RE CANADIAN AID TO AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

ACTION REQUESTED: EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S PROVIDING INFO AND COMMENT WE COULD USE IN RESPONDING TO KUROKOCHI'S REQUEST.

8. COMMENT: THOUGH MITI SEEMS TO SHARE FONOFF CONCERN WITH POSSIBILITY OF BLACK AFRICAN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, TAKASHI'S REMARKS INDICATE MITI MORE RELUCTANT THAN FONOFF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 08095 02 OF 02 200621Z

TO SACRIFICE EXISTING COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND SOURCES OF SUPPLY OF NEEDED IMPORTS IN ORDER TO AVOID THAT POSSIBILITY. IN EMBASSY OPINION, MITI VIEW LIKELY TO PREVAIL ON THIS POINT FOR PRESENT. ON OTHER HAND, GOJ POLICY FORBIDDING INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA NO DOUBT REFLECTS WISHES FONOFF RATHER THAN MITI'S

9. WE ARE STRUCK AGAIN, AS DURING OIL CRISIS, BY RELATIVE LACK OF MEANS AT JAPAN'S DISPOSAL TO COPE WITH THREATS FROM THIRD WORLD. NEVERTHELESS, JAPAN IS TRYING THIS CASE TO COMPOSE A PACKAGE, BEFORE THE CRISIS, WHICH WILL DETER CRITICISM OF OR RETALIATION AGAINST JAPAN. PACKAGE WILL CONSIST OF ADDITIONAL AID AND INVESTMENT, BUT, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, JAPAN WILL TRY TO SHIFT ITS POSITION ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF CONCERN TO BLACK AFRICANS CLOSER TO BLACK AFRICANS' POSITIONS. SHIFT MOST

LILELY TO TAKE FROM IN UN AND WE SHOULD, THEREFORE, INCLUDE
IN OUR CALCULATIONS PROBABILITY THAT JAPAN(S POSITIONS WILL
INCREASINGLY FAVOR BLACK AFRICANS ALONG WITH OTHER LDCS.
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